the WOMAN VOTER

WOMEN IN THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

REPRESENTATIVE RANKIN OF MONTANA

CONVENTION WEEK IN ALBANY

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DECEMBER, 1916

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Of THE WOMAN VOTER, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1916.
State of New York,
County of New York: ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Mabel Russell, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the business manager of THE WOMAN VOTER, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

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2. That the owners are: (Give names and addresses of individual owners, or, if a corporation, give its name and the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of the total amount of stock.)

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of April, 1916.

(Seal) CHARLES C. WALKER, Jr.
(My commission expires March 30th, 1918.)

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The Woman Voter is the only magazine published in the interests of the New York State campaign for woman suffrage. It contains official news of the work, authoritative statements on policy by officers of *The New York State Woman Suffrage Party,* and general articles by well known writers.

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THE WOMAN VOTER

DECEMBER, 1916

The Woman Suffrage Party has one plank in its platform and only one—votes for the women of New York State, the women of the United States and the women of the world.

On With the Campaign

THE recent State Convention clearly demonstrates that in "the bright lexicon" of Suffrage "there is no such word as fail." The plans made at Albany are formulated with military precision; first, the establishment of a line of trenches around the Capitol for provisional use should some legislators forget. It is hardly probable these trenches will be needed.

Then a comprehensive advance has been planned which will put one or more *voting* Suffragists in every house, besides the women of the family. Propaganda by street meetings, by automobile hikes to distant localities, by leaflets terse and convincing and by other methods emanating from the General Staff will be carried into harmonious operation by divisions, brigades and regiments.

We have learned where we must strengthen our lines, where we must fortify advanced positions, and where reinforcements must be held in reserve. We are working together, squarely and compactly, ready to obey orders, ready to give our best effort in whatever direction it may be demanded. The fight is to the finish, and victory will be our reward.

PLAIN speaking was a feature of the Convention. Direct statement of mistakes in campaign methods preceded plans for the future. Discussion was free, everybody was welcome to her say, and the greatest harmony pervaded the entire proceedings. Business great in amount and importance was transacted, money pledges exceeded all previous record, and the same officers were unanimously returned to lead the final charge.

Delegates who went to the Convention merely inclined to work came away not only with the resolution strengthened, but they also received an inspiration which will double their working capacity. Borough chairmen and district leaders bore away a message of hope and courage to their constituencies, a veritable inspiration to be up and doing.

NATURALLY there were no lamentations over the result of the referenda in South Dakota and West Virginia. Suffragists never waste precious time lamenting postponements in themselves; they may be inconvenient, but are never vital.

We had hoped to congratulate our sisters of the West and South, but we find no need to condole with them. We recognize that they made a good fight, that their respective states contain many men of enlightened mind and comprehension.

As to the others, they need more education in order to overcome senseless prejudice and to be able to enter the graduating class of men who believe not only in the principles but in the *practice* of true democracy.

WE are rejoiced that women of the Suffrage states not only registered, but voted in numbers in November. Nowhere do we read that they were driven to the polls under the whip of a party boss. Nowhere do we read that even the "first voters" did anything unseemly.

We do know that the votes of women were *greatly sought* and *greatly desired,* so that we can take this knowledge as compensation for the following *ex cathedra* utterance of our unconscious ally, *The New York Times*:

"The approval of woman suffrage by both the Republican and Democratic Conventions was a perfectly understood bid for the vote of the women in the Suffrage states. The chaffering of the politicians is not likely to affect save with a stronger disrelish for votes for women the opponents of female emancipation.

"If on the whole women are actuated by the same political motives as men, if their view of candidates and policies is the same, the state that enfranchises women is merely indulging in a costly luxury. If, on the other hand, women, to any considerable extent, vote as women, their enfranchisement would be unwise and might be a weakness and a danger."

We commend to the editor of the *Times* that famous comment on the Athanasian Creed.

Women in the Presidential Campaign

Experiences of a Republican Campaigner.

Katharine Bement Davis.

THE Presidential Campaign of 1916 will stand out in history as marking the permanent entrance of women into national politics. Before this, women had worked with national organizations, and particularly in the campaign of 1912, when women formed an integral part of the Progressive Party, but never before have the members themselves of great political parties sought the support of women with the same eagerness as they have in this last campaign. The humorous part of it is that it made no difference whether a man was a suffragist or an anti, whether he lived in a suffrage state or in a non-suffrage state. If he felt that women could help he did not hesitate to solicit that aid. Nor was the attitude of the men alone amusing; that of some of the women antis was even more so.

In many of the cities where the women of the Hughes Campaign Train were entertained, chairmen and prominent members of the local committees who were responsible for arranging meetings, were anti-suffragists. The first of these whom I encountered was in New York State at a reception given after our morning meeting. This lady was talking very eagerly of the chances of a Republican victory. She had been expressing herself very ardently as a supporter of Mr. Hughes and ended by saying, "Why, I myself would go out and stand on a soap box on a corner like a Suffragist and talk for him if I thought it would help elect him." This was my first intimation that she was an anti and I expressed my surprise. A nice little argument followed, in which she finally admitted that it was pure ignorance on her part that made her balk at the final step of depositing her ballot. In my judgment the Hughes Campaign Train accomplished a great deal for Suffrage, in that it interested women who are powers in their communities in actual political work, and, in many instances such as the above, they began to find out the illogic of their position in a way that got home.

The thing which impressed me most, as I went about the country, was the necessity of rousing women all over the land to an interest in national affairs. It is perfectly understandable that women first become interested in a local situation. This is usually an extension of their personal housekeeping to the care of the streets, a satisfactory water supply, local provision for hospitals and such like. It requires a little wider vision, but not too great a jump, to take an interest in state matters; but wherever we went we found that it was much more difficult to make women understand the importance of national issues. The obscurity of national issues by local issues was not confined to the women, and this is perfectly natural. For example, in South California a meeting was called by a Woman's City Club to listen to speakers from the Hughes Campaign Train. At the same meeting a group of men, all of them candidates of one party or the other for local offices, was present. Not one of these men mentioned national issues. It was most amusing to a woman from a non-suffrage state to hear these men bid for the support of the woman voter. Each man endeavored to show why he himself was a better candidate than the man of the other party. Such self-glorification I have rarely listened to.

One of the results of my many experiences was a suggestion made in an interview given before the election advocating a separation of the federal elections from local elections, and I was greatly interested to see that one of our local newspapers, after the election, very strongly advocated such a course. If we concentrated on the election of President and Congressmen in Presidential years, it would mean that the attention of the entire country would be focused on this one issue, and genuine educational campaigns could be conducted on all great national issues. In the three other years we certainly could arrange to elect state and local candidates and confine our attention, in that time, particularly where municipal campaigns are on, to those local issues in which political party is not nearly as important as good housekeeping. Perhaps one thing women can do when they get the vote will be to try to bring about such a readjustment.

It was not remarkable that in the National Hughes Alliance women should sit in the National Committee, inasmuch as the National Alliance included twelve Suffrage states, but it was a decided step in advance when the New York State Hughes Alliance invited two members to become members of its executive committee.

Women of both parties did effective political work. Just what their net results were we can never know. Tuesday night, when it seemed that Mr. Hughes had been elected, Republican men were everywhere congratulating the Repub-

lican women, telling them how much they had accomplished and thanking them for their help. The next day the tables were turned and it was the Democratic women who received the congratulations; so we each got our share.

The Hughes Campaign Train marked a step in advance. It was the first national campaigning on a large scale inaugurated by women, financed by women, and conducted by women. A woman has been elected to Congress and this year every political party has adopted a Suffrage Plank. We are certainly "IN" and in to stay. If the campaign has proved anything with regard to women it has proved that they are not greatly unlike men in their ways of thinking and in their ways of working. If we can only persuade the men of New York to ponder on the outstanding facts of women's part in this campaign, they will realize that they had better yield gracefully to the inevitable in 1917, have the agony over, and let us all work side by side in our efforts to make New York a better place in which to live.

Experiences of a Democratic Campaigner

Elizabeth Glendower Evans.

THE fact that the women of twelve states were to vote at the recent presidential election induced an extraordinary bid by both the Republican and the Democratic party for the help of women in the campaign. The Hughes Alliance got first in the field, and created a Woman's Branch, which sent a trainload of women campaigners as far as the Pacific Coast. They must have a story of their own to tell. Somewhat tardily the Democratic National Committee appointed a Woman's Bureau with a National Chairman at Chicago, whence work among women voters was directed, and an Eastern Section attached to the National Headquarters in New York, to which the task of enlisting non-voting women was delegated.

For a while it seemed as if this latter task was akin to making bricks without straw. Voteless women who possessed qualities of leadership were generally engaged in working for suffrage; non-suffragists and *antis,* true to the legend that "woman's place is the home," were unpromising material; while women of social importance were for the most part ranged for Hughes. However it was late in September before the Eastern Section secured an executive secretary and could lay out plans for active work. Thus it was in the face of handicaps which seemed to spell the impossible that sufficient workers were recruited to carry on a spirited compaign. This, however, was due in part to the Woodrow Wilson Independent League.

Our most spectacular venture was a big motor van which we ran about the streets of Greater New York for twelve hours a day, distributing tons of literature and holding meetings for five weeks preceding election. The van was a characteristically feminine performance. It was decorated on one side with children released for play in the fields by Wilson's Child Labor Law. On the other side was the cartoon of Lincoln reaching out over Wilson's bowed head, and counselling, "Be patient, Mr. President; they criticised me too." Beside the cartoon were panels inscribed: "Who broke the Money Trust? Who kept us out of War? Who stands for an Eight Hour Day? Who gave the Farmers Rural Credits? etc.

The van was "manned," so to speak, with women young and no longer young, whose love of the cause was their sole reward. A tambourine and a phonograph supplied our music. Thus advertised, as the van passed along the streets, men would reach their hands out from drays and taxis for literature, and we would be almost mobbed when we came to a standstill and an assortment of literature was offered—a babel of voices crying out, "Mexico, give me Mexico," or "Give me Wilson on Labor," or "Give me Wilson as a Progressive," etc.; many would be careful to secure a sample of each available variety and would put them carefully in their pockets. Rarely could we obtain a sufficient supply of literature, so enormous was the demand. All of which heartened us with the knowledge that whatever might be the outcome of the election, seed was being sown that would surely bear fruit.

And the street meetings! Never have I imagined the like. It quickly developed that women were more popular as speakers than men, and candidates for election were glad to avail themselves of the audiences we gathered. A crowd could be held, literally for hours, as long as women speakers were supplied, but it would dwindle when men speakers came on, unless they were of the first quality. When voices gave out, a voiceless speech proved serviceable in the smaller gatherings, and was attentively read by the children. The top-notch feature of our van work was a series of cartoons on the money trust, the federal reserve act, and similar notable Democratic achievements, drawn and interpreted by Miss Lou Rogers, which held the audiences enthralled and furnished solid political instruction. The day before election we held continuous meetings from noontime to a half hour short of midnight.

Our van with its methods of appeal acquired in the hard school of suffrage propaganda, was

of a piece with activities put forth by Wilson women in other localities. A nation wide circular letter went out from our Headquarters recommending automobile campaigns. My knowledge how this appeal materialized is confined to two states; but in each of these the response was amazing. The Chairman of one of these states told me how, when she despaired of getting even a single motor, since every family of her acquaintance who owned one was for Hughes, a lady appeared as out of a clear sky who announced, "My name is Ford and my machine is a Ford. Put us to work. When I got your letter I telephoned my husband, 'Daddy, leave your job for two weeks, we've got to drive for Wilson.'" And the two beat their way, I am told, from place to place, like the apostles of old, being entertained on the road by those who heard the word gladly. Another woman responded to the State Chairman by return mail, "'My baby is only five weeks old, so I have been able to work for Wilson for only two weeks; send me literature." It is incidents such as these which show how deep were the springs tapped in the Wilson campaign, and the kind of service which was given by women.

A touch of the comic was supplied by the men politicians, many of them heavy *antis,* who welcomed the women cautiously and prepared to regard them as strictly ornamental assets; but their surprise and delight were unmeasured when they saw these household queens get busy at factory gates and travel the length and breadth of the countryside spreading Woodrow Wilson propaganda. Still more amazing were the modest bills turned in, bills which would barely have paid for the men's cigars! Women have not worked long years for suffrage upon empty coffers, and learned nothing!

On the Democratic side this was truly a people's campaign. Folks of substance were enrolled in an overwhelming proportion in the Hughes camp, while the contributions to the Wilson war chest averaged about $4.00 per donor, of whom there were over 150,000. The Eastern Section of the Women's Bureau, having no votes to deliver, agreed to make good the money which it cost, and it did this, collecting over $3,800, against the $3,000 or thereabouts which it spent. Will the men who asked our help in a hard fought Presidential campaign and who got help in so much fuller measure than they expected, will they remember this when we ask for the vote?

Representative Rankin of Montana.

When the Sixty-fifth Congress assembles in Washington a year hence, that august body will have the unique experience of counting among its members a woman as one of the representatives of a State of the Union. Moreover, for the first time in the history of Congress there will be an official *spokeswoman* for the interests of women and children, in the person of Jeanette Rankin, representative at large from Montana. If the Federal Amendment goes over to another year, the measure will then have an advocate who will come out *fairly* and *squarely* for the issue.

It is peculiarly fitting that this first woman representative should come from a state new enough to have kept the fresh pioneer spirit; that she should come from a state where women are holding land claims, and working for their living until they can secure the full title to their claims; that she should come from a state where women are facing the same problems as men and are uniting with them in the solution of difficulties on terms of equality.

Representative Rankin was born on a ranch in Missoula County, Montana, the child of a Canadian father of Scotch parentage, and a New Hampshire mother, a pioneer school teacher. What better start in life could one ask? On the ranch in the passes of the Bitter Root Range, later in the lumber camp, Miss Rankin got her primary education in human nature, and her academic studies continued in the University of Montana, of which she is an alumna. Her connection with the destitute children of

Seattle and Spokane when finding homes for these waifs led her to the conclusion that something was decidedly wrong with the laws, and strengthened her conviction that woman's work was a necessity to the state.

From this conclusion followed her participation in the Suffrage campaigns in Washington, California, Ohio, North Dakota and Michigan, and her activity as organizer for the Borough of Manhattan. With Miss Auerbach she formed the first Suffrage organization of Montana in 1912, an informal society, without dues, and directed by herself and associate as the only officers. In the three years intervening before the victory was won, the two women toured the state more than once, visiting every city, town and village, making personal acquaintance with men and women, and establishing district organizations wherever they went. The result of this state-wide acquaintance is evident in the recent election returns. In a Democratic state which gave a large majority to President Wilson and to the Democratic candidates in general, Miss Rankin ran more than 25,000 ahead of her party and was about the only Republican elected on the National ticket. There were more registered women voters this year in Montana than the total adult feminine population of the state in 1910, and one might almost conclude that the woman vote alone elected Miss Rankin.

But Miss Rankin herself says: "Both the men and the women did it. The men of Montana have always given the women what they wanted. When I appeared at the State Republican Convention as a candidate the most remarkable and inspiring thing was the manner in which the men responded. They understood that my candidacy was a simple and logical demand, and they supported me."

Her political platform is her own, and she is frank and uncompromising in her statement of her intentions: "As Representative of the State of Montana, I shall represent to the best of my ability the men, women and children of my state. But in a certain sense I feel that it is my special duty to express also the point of view of women and to make clear that the women of the country are coming to a full realization of the fact that Congress is a body which deals with their problems."

Miss Rankin is a thoroughly well-balanced woman, of broad education and scientific training in sociology, of wide experience in politics, firm in her convictions, and is inspired in her work by practical idealism. Such a personality will be an education to her fellow members in the House, and only those whose minds are hopelessly archaic will cling to notions founded purely on ignorance and prejudice.

A California Voting Place

When I went to the polls November 7th, I found four election officers seated at a table, three of them men, and one a woman. There were two of my neighbors in the small canvas booths voting, and one signing the register. As it was in the middle of the day, I had expected to wait in a line for my turn, and was surprised to find the polls so quiet, but half the registered voters had already come and gone, and they distributed themselves almost evenly throughout the day.

The voices of the clerks were as subdued as in a church when they called a name or reported "voted." I spoke in an undertone to the white haired man who was nearest to me said "how quiet it is here," and he answered, "Yes, the polls have been quiet ever since women voted. Everybody is polite, no loafers stand about, and there is no smoking in the room."

Later in the day I mentioned the incident to a young woman who is a voter and she said, "It seems funny to remember what people used to say about the polls. They told us they were dreadful places, not fit for women to visit—why, they are as fit as offices and stores and schools."

Alice Park,
Palo Alta, Cal.

Election Gains.

OF course we are pleased that a woman will take her seat in the House of Representatives when the session of the Sixty-fifth Congress opens. Our gratification is increased because woman and her interests will be capably represented in Jeanette Rankin.

More than that, we are happy in the fact that the House has secured a member of vision broad enough to regard problems from the point of view of the general welfare and whose whole political training in the school of suffrage is a guarantee against narrow partisan spirit.

We are also glad that four women electors will sit in the Electoral College in January, in the persons of Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, of Illinois, and Mrs. W. C. Tyler, Mrs. Spinks and Mrs. Wylie, of California. For these gains much thanks!

Convention Week in Albany

THE Forty-eighth, and as suffragists hope and believe, the last Convention of the New York State Woman Suffrage party, opened in Albany on November 21. From the most remote villages, as well as from towns and cities, delegates were present in Eastern Star Hall when the Chairman, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse called the meeting to order. In the great gathering were women who have made their mark in letters, music, art, civics and sociology, and women who are suffragists by inheritance, and who are carrying on the work of a preceding generation.

THE SLOGAN.

"Victory for Suffrage in New York State in 1917," was the slogan of the convention. Every report and every recommendation urged the delegates to prepare for a strenuous campaign without parallel. The State Chairman, Mrs. Whitehouse, made an able and vigorous address, deducing experiences from the election of 1915, and urging absolute consecration of effort in the present campaign. Mrs. Whitehouse said in part:

"A year ago a Woman Suffrage amendment to our State Constitution was defeated by popular vote. We had carried on a great campaign. We had held 10,000 meetings and distributed 7,000,000 leaflets. Two hundred thousand women had worked in the campaign without pay. It was a fitting culmination of the sixty-seven years of organized effort in this state. We had no great or insurmountable opposition. Our enemies believed we could not win and, therefore, did not exert themselves against us. We had declared that we were organized to win. But we lost. We may well ask ourselves why. Mrs. Catt has told us it was because we, ourselves, did not have sufficient confidence in our ability to win. We made many sacrifices, but not enough.

"We worked like amateurs. Our motto was, 'Suffrage first,' but we did not live up to it. We let other thngs creep in ahead. We thought of pleasures and of other duties. In the heat of the summer, when our efforts for our campaign should have been greatest, many of us left our posts in the cities and took a holiday. In the country districts our efforts slackened, too. When there was a choice of duties, other duties were too frequently given precedence over suffrage.

"We had an unparalled chance to steal a march on our enemy. One more vote out of every nine would have meant victory. How many of us have told this tale: 'My district lost by a handful of votes; if I had only stayed at home and worked a little harder I would have carried it?'

"We lost; but our very defeat may be the foundation for a triumph. Our work at the polls on election day was an education to the voters. That, and the result itself of the election, did more for our cause than months of campaigning. At last men knew that woman suffrage was a real political issue in New York state. We found we had an army of voters with us; more than half a million. We know they can be counted on henceforth, because when a man has overcome ignorance and prejudice, when he is once a suffragist, he remains one. There may be a few defections, but the normal man cannot go back. Five hundred thousand men voted for suffrage; 700,000 voted against it, but 500,000 registered voters did not vote on it at all. Many of the men who voted against it have since been converted. Many, many more will be converted this year. But in order to win our new campaign we must not only maintain the interest of our frends and convert some of our opponents; we must reach, educate, arouse to interest the half million enfranchised men in this state who did not vote last time.

"Our new campaign began as soon as we heard of our defeat. In New York City we held meetings from midnight to dawn, and when the office opened next morning there were telgrams from various districts in the state saying they, too, were ready to go on with the work. At our annual convention a year ago we decided unanimously to ask the Legislature of 1916 to pass a resolution submitting woman suffrage again to the voters. Two months after our defeat the resolution was introduced into both Houses of the Legislature, and then began the struggle, which proved as nothing else could have proved, the strength of the suffrage movement in New York State. The leaders of both houses were openly opposed to our resolution. Senator Elon R. Brown, majority leader of the Senate, and Speaker Sweet of the Assembly made statements which were sent broadcast to the newspapers of the state, that there was no chance for our resolution. Woman Suffrage, they said, was dead. Only eleven Assemblymen out of 150, only one Senator out of fifty-one, represented constituencies that had voted for suffrage. Mrs. Laidlaw has reported the great campaign of letters, telegrams, delegations and meetings that was carried on to force our measure through. Our half million voters stood by us and we proved to ourselves and to the world that we are organized to win. This gallant legislative struggle maintained the public interest aroused by our campaign. The newspapers of New York City and of the state became increasingly friendly and more and more openly championed us in our unequal and unnecessarily prolonged efforts for the resolution. It was finally passed by big majorities in both houses.

"Events crowded one upon another. Before our own county conventions were over there came the Republican convention in Chicago and the Democratic convention in St. Louis. They brought with them the greatest suffrage triumph of our generation. The minority parties have long endorsed suffrage and have been counted our good friends. For the first time both Republicans and Democrats endorsed the principles of suffrage at their conventions.

"There was no doubt of the extent of the public interest in suffrage. About 2,000,000 women enfranchised since the last presidential election were to vote. The wise and experinced political leaders of both parties knew from the beginning that the race for president would be a close one and they each sought every advantage. They both played for the support of the women voters. Mr. Hughes' state-

ment on suffrage in his speech of acceptance and his fuller declaration the following day promised a real support for our cause, which his subsequent silence did not bear out.

""After that came the great presidential campaigns. Women occupied a new position. Each party begged our assistance. But we maintained our historic attitude of neutrality. Many women in the Eastern States took sides. There were the Hughes' train and the Wilson Women's committee. Both political parties urged on the women in their efforts; both political parties blamed the women for not succeeding where they, themselves, had failed. There could never, never have been so plain an evidence of the folly and absurdity of women working for parties which, as yet, deny them political freedom.

"The papers were full of prophecies of what the women voters would do—it was conceded that they held the balance of power. After election the news columns were full of the intelligence they had displayed in voting. They did not vote solidly for or against any party. This fact shows clearly that no party, to the exclusion of others, represented women's particular needs and interests.

"Suffrage history will report the past year as rich in events. It is easy to see why this is so. The cause has grown out of our control. It belongs to the country and to the world.

"Suffrage triumphs all over the world. The political events in this country and our own unceasing efforts all combine to give our work an importance and standing it never has had before. Our cause is popular, our leaders are honored. The situation can mean only one thing: Victory is ours if we have the courage to grasp it."

PLEDGES TALK.

The Wednesday morning session, November 22, was devoted to reports from the campaign districts, beginning with the report of the New York City Chairman, Miss Mary Garret Hay. Following came the reports from the other eleven districts of the state.

A speech by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt at the afternoon session aroused great enthusiasm. Mrs. Catt's eloquence, her logical, incisive statement of campaign measures and needs, stirred her hearers to new consecration. In regard to the Leslie bequest, Mrs. Catt made this statement:

"Five decisions regarding the will have been handed down, but it is still in litigation. If the money should ever come to us I should like to feel that it would be used for some one thing which we could not do without it. I do not think any woman should feel that she would give a penny less because of it. As long as I have a dollar I know that the surplus will go into the suffrage coffers."

At the conclusion of Mrs. Catt's address pledges came in generously. The District Chairmen led with the following pledges:

First—Miss Mary Garrett Hay, New York City	$150,000
Second—Mrs. Raymond Brown, Bellport	5,000
Third—Miss Leila Stout, Albany	8,000
Fourth—Mrs. Robert Ford, Canton	2,000
Fifth—Mrs. W. F. Canough, Syracuse	5,000
Sixth—Miss Lillian Huffcut, Binghamton	6,750
Seventh—Mrs. A. C. Clement, Rochester	2,000
Eighth—Mrs. F. J. Tone, Niagara	19,000
Ninth—Mrs. Carl Osterheld, Yonkers	25,000
Tenth—Mrs. Gordon Norris, Staatsburg	4,500
Eleventh—Mrs. George Notman, Keene Valley	4,500
Twelfth—Miss Lucy C. Watson, Utica	5,000

From the sections the pledges were as follows: Teachers, $5,000; Educational, $8,000; Publicity, $25,000; Industrial, $1,000. Other large pledges were: Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, $5,000, to raise the budget to an even $300,000, and $2,000 from Mr. and Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw.

SOCIAL FEATURES.

Though "pink teas" and parlor meetings with tea-drinking attachment are henceforth taboo, two social functions marked the convention. The first was the banquet at the Hotel Ten Eyck, at which the principal speakers were Mrs. Chapman Catt, in place of Judge Seabury, "unable to be present," and Mrs. Alice Duer Miller. The second affair was the reception at the executive mansion.

THE ELECTION.

Whether or not the delegates bore Abraham Lincolns' celebrated story in mind, the majority of the old officers have been re-elected. Only two changes were made: Mrs. Alice Duer Miller becomes the head of the new Board of Finance, and her place as Corresponding Secretary is filled by Mrs. Charles Noel Edge. Mrs. Carl R. Osterheld takes the place of Mrs. Arthur W. Livermore on the Board of Directors. The officers are as follows Chairman, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse; Vice Chairmen, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Raymond Brown and Mrs. Henry White Cannon; Treasurer, Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid; Recording Secretary, Miss Alice Morgan Wright; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Charles Noel Edge; Directors, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Miss Harriet May Mills, Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey and Mrs. Carl R. Osterheld. An amendment to the constitution changed the terms of officers to two years.

THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION.

The final word of the Convention is this declaration:

"We women of the greatest State in the greatest Republic of the world resolve to announce a Thanksgiving of our own for the support of the half million of votes at the polls November, 1915, and for that evolution in thought which we firmly trust to make us also the citizen equals with the men of our state in 1917."

The Beggar Maid

A Compilation by Alice Morgan Wright

KING COPHETUA
MERLIN
THE KNIGHT
FIRST LORD
SECOND LORD
THIRD LORD
VIVIAN
FIRST RESCUED LADY
SECOND RESCUED LADY
THIRD RESCUED LADY
GOLDILOCKS and
GOLDILOCKS
OTHER RESCUED LADIES
AND LITTLE CHILDREN
THE PIPER
THE BEGGAR MAID

The scene is a grassy glade. The approach from the right is through oaks and white birches and on the left a path suddenly emerges from a dense pine wood. The ground rises in a low bank behind the trees. Beyond that is a meadow leading up a hillside. Part of the hill is surmounted by a copse and the rest rocky with a rugged crest lifted against the sky. A music of flutes and instruments of lyric type is heard among the trees. The piper suddenly appears from the copse at the top of the hill surrounded by a swarm of small children with light fluttering tunics. Each child has a little broom made of a faggot of twigs and all come hoppity skipping down the hill, singly or holding hands, in groups of two and three, led swiftly by the piper. Arrived in the center of the glade, they crowd breathlessly around him. He lets his pipes fall and the music stops.

The Piper

Is every one's broom all right?

The children shout affirmatives, brandishing their brooms.

The Piper

Well then, we can begin. Remember what I told you?

Goldilocks (A)

A little girl.

About the old wizards and ogres and things?

Goldilocks (B)

A little boy of the same age and height as the girl.

Putting cobwebs and enchantments and spells all about in the air to catch us with!

The Piper

And prejudices and traditions——

Goldilocks (B)

Yes, and prejudices and traditions and sentimentalities——

Goldilocks (A)

And hypocricies and incantations, all over us in the air so that when we begin to grow up we bump our heads against them and can't grow straight and tall and beautiful into the sky as we ought to do.

The Piper

And let me tell you that they are particularly thick right in this spot and you will have to sweep like anything to get them all cleared out of here. Do you think you can do that?

The Children

Oh yes, oh yes, oh yes!

The Piper

Off with you then, and if any one's broom gets worn out, bring it back and I will fix it.

The music recommences and the children in a long circling line led by Goldilocks and Goldilocks run leaping about, vigourously sweeping the air with their little brooms and springing upwards for high strokes as they dance out between the trees into the forground. The Piper stands at the edge of the pine wood, watching them.

The Piper

As in slow circles, barques unseaworthy
Drift at their moorings on a sluggish tide,
Men's thoughts that no wind forward driveth
ride
At anchor in deep coils of lethargy.

Themselves, like insects in the silvery shroud
The spider's magic weaves across their day,
Entangled lie inert, while cloud on cloud
Of sorcery bedims their skyward way.

In enchanted sleep age-old they lie
Unstirring, till a dawn shall stream
To enhearten them with a gallant dream
And set them free beneath the sky!

From the worn-out web of a time outworn,
From the waning thrall of the wielded word,
On the spread of beating wings upborne,
Shall they arise, to rebellion stirred,
Who have seen a light and a spirit heard
Wind on the heights a distant horn!

The music comes to an end and the children gather about the feet of the piper.

Goldilocks (B)

Piper, do you keep a tryst?

The Piper

All keep tryst upon this lawn:
Pointed pines that prick the mist,
Sunlight, starlight, dusk and dawn!

A Small Child

Piper, Piper, tell us how
Miracles may come to pass!

The Piper

One that hasteth even now
Lightly oversteps the grass!

The Beggar Maid appears from the path in the pines, regarding somewhat dejectedly an enrollment book which she carries. The Beggar Maid's arms are bare. Her dark hair is parted and falls down over her shoulders. She wears sandals and her white legs and ankles flash out between the tattered folds of her silvery gray tunic.

The Beggar Maid

Not a signature to-day!

She observes the Piper and eyes him hungrily as a possible signer.

Would you please sign my book? All you have to do is to put down your name and it doesn't mean anything more than that you believe that women should have the vote on the same terms with men.

The piper takes the book and pencil and signs, resting it against a tree trunk. The Beggar Maid while waiting, picks up the smallest child and hugs it but puts it down again when she takes the book from the Piper. She looks at the signature.

Thank you very much, but

(hesitating)

I don't think it will quite do. I don't believe they can count your signature; it sounds like a joke, you know—at least, it would to the politicians.

They both laugh.

Couldn't you call yourself something different, say "Kindergarten Teacher," for example?

The Piper

Bless you, this is no kindergarten! This is an orphan asylum. I've kidnapped it. I am a kidnapper! You would not want me to put that down in your book, would you?

The Beggar Maid

Heavens, no! What orphan asylum?

The Piper

The Royal Home for Temporary Orphans of Knights Slain in Combat.

The Beggar Maid

Why temporary?

The Piper

Temporary because when their mothers are released from the dungeons of the various ogres and knights who have slain their fathers they come and take the children home.

The Beggar Maid

Is the Home always full?

The Piper

Always in the summer. There are more combats then, you know, especially in May and June. Chivalry doesn't flourish much in the winter time, on the whole.

The Beggar Maid

But why have you run away with the children?

The Piper

Because I can make them dance. They are the only ones who will. I am the Piper, you know. I pipe and pipe and no one will dance. Hardly any one even hears me.

The Beggar Maid

It must be like getting enrollments.

The Piper

It is. I pipe as the morning comes over the hill top and till the day drifts away through the valley and the people go on living close to the earth. Their eyes are held to the ground that they may not see the days flying past overhead and their ears are deaf. But you heard me this morning, up that hillside, just as you were waking, didn't you?

The Beggar Maid

Just before I woke up, I dreamed that we had the vote. I saw the words, "Votes for Women" in great shining letters spread out over the land as tho' they had been printed with the kind of light that the dew flashes from the grass in the sunshine. I ran forward to the point of the letter V, for I thought that that was the goal we had been working for so long and that I might sink down there on the grass and rest, for I was tired. But when I reached that spot, I found that it was a threshold. This place where I stood, you see, was like the angle at the home plate of a base ball diamond and the two sides of the great V stretched away from me in the direction of the lines leading to the first and third bases, only they went on and on, growing always wider apart like a wedge, and then I saw that the point where I was standing was really the beginning of achievement instead of the end, and the field before me widened enormously at every step and became more and more crowded with things to be done. I could see endlessly ahead, and some of the far-off places were like jagged mountain ranges and some like tossing seas and some like sunlit meadows, and I started forward, for I was no longer tired and the air was filled with a kind of piping music that would not let me stay, and then I was awake!

Goldilocks (A)

Oh, Piper, look! Are these some of them coming now?

The Piper

Some of what, child?

Goldilocks (A)

Some of those old duffers that have the prejudices and hypocricies and things?

The Piper

The lady's name is Vivian and the old gentleman is Merlin, the distinguished magician.

Goldilocks (B)

Are we to be afraid of them, Piper?

The Piper

Did you get the cobwebs all swept away from about the oak trees?

Goldilocks (A)

Yes, indeed, the enchantments and the traditions and the spells and sentimentalities and everything.

Goldilocks (B)

It's all as clean as clean.

The Piper

Then how can they catch you and why should you be afraid? However, I think you children

would better all tuck yourselves out of sight a bit where you can watch to see if they start spinning any fresh cobwebs, so that you can rush out and sweep them down as soon as they begin.

Goldilocks (both)

All right.

The children skip around the edge of the pine woods and half conceal themselves between the trees. Merlin and Vivian are seen walking near.

The Piper

No chance there for signatures just yet, Beggar Maid. Stay here with me a little and see what happens. They can't see me, you know, any more than they can hear me.

Enter Merlin, walking feebly and supported by the sturdy arm of Vivian. The Piper sits on the ground and blows into his pipes till his cheeks puff out but no sound comes. The Beggar Maid retreats to the edge of the pines and sits down between Goldilocks and Goldilocks. Merlin is old and fragile with a pointed beard and bald head traversed above the eyebrows by a number of straight parallel wrinkles. Vivian is a portly and forceful looking person with the voice of a stentor.

Merlin

Let us rest here beneath this shady oak.
Weak is the power of sorcery to-day.
Within this glade of mystery I oft
Peopled with shapes fantastical and dire
Naught lingers but the scent of trodden grass
And sweet airs blown across the skyey downs.
I could believe while gazing on these lawns
The undercurrent of black magic ebbed
To surge for me no more, nor feel regret!

Vivian

Merlin, you know that I cannot abide blank verse, and besides you are talking tommy-rot! Have you no thought for women and what would become of them if it were not for magic? What would a poor weak creature like me do without the support of your protecting incantations?

Merlin

But, my dear, I have taught you the charm: Indirect influence. Can't you practice that?

Vivian

You would just better believe I can and do! But what good would that be to me without your sorcery to fall back on and the power it gives you over the king? Merlin, Merlin, do *indignantly.*
not forsake me!
You would have me go out into the coarse world and make my own living, would you! You think I look like a Suffragette, I expect.

Merlin

weakly.

No, Vivian, you know I hold it to be unfitting that a woman should be subjected to the degrading atmosphere of the polls or that she should ever be so debased as to possess any power of self support or self protection. One of the first laws of chivalry that I ever invented forbids it.

The Piper, who gave up trying to make his pipes heard as soon as Vivian began speaking, beckons to Goldilocks who runs, skirting around the trees, and unseen by Merlin and Vivian, brushes the air vigorously all about the head of the former during the above speech, and then retires to his hiding place, just as the Knight and the rescued ladies in single file behind him pace across the field beyond the oaks, to the air of a stately measure played by the concealed musicians, and halt in a line at the back of the scene. At sight of the approaching company some of the children start to run towards them, but the Piper quickly rounds them in and leads them hoppity skipping over the hill and out of sight. The Knight, leaving the ladies standing in a line across the back of the stage, crosses in front of them to salute Merlin and Vivian. The Beggar Maid comes quickly out of the pines with her enrollment book to present it for the signatures of the Rescued Ladies; but the Knight noisily draws his sword and thrusts it horizontally between her and the row of ladies just as they all simultaneously stretch out eager hands to take the book.

The Knight

Avaunt, Beggar, approach not these noble ladies with the contamination of your rage.

He gives her a slight shove. She slips and falls lightly to the

ground but picks herself up at once. The Rescued Ladies resume impassivity.

Merlin

Aside to the Knight.

Have a care, Sir Knight! Tho' I do not know this young person nor through what enchantment she is here, I strongly suspect her of being a princess in disguise.

The Knight in alarm hastens toward the Beggar Maid to help her to her feet, but is too late.

The Knight

A thousand pardons, madam, for my awkward haste! It was due as you must understand to the inopportune impulse of my zeal in defending these ladies who are under my protection. I am bound by the laws of chivalry to shield them from the lightest breath which might blow injury to the bloom of a delicate cheek. Bloom, you know, must be preserved at all costs.

The Beggar Maid

And how do these ladies happen to have placed themselves under your protection?

The Knight

Placed themselves! They would never do anything so unladylike, I hope, as to place themselves anywhere! I have rescued them from the dungeon-keep of a false knight who kept them there in duress vile.

The Beggar Maid

You fought and vanquished the false knight, then?

The Knight

Certainly—why, no—that is, as a matter of fact, on this particular occasion, my Lord Merlin here cast an enchanted sleep over the false knight and all his turnkeys so that when I entered the castle, my drawn sword in hand, the gates flew open at my touch and so I set the imprisoned ladies free.

The Beggar Maid

Indeed!

Vivian

Without irony.

Sir Knight, I thank you on behalf of all my unworthy sex for your gallant and chivalrous action.

The Knight bows.

Merlin

Aside to Knight.

Why have you not restored these ladies to their rightful homes, as I directed?

The Knight

In Merlin's ear.

They won't go! I can do nothing with them. I am on my way now to the King to complain of their most unworthy conduct!

Enter majestically King Cophetua, followed by three lords who proceed majestically also, and in single file, assuming archaic attitudes. At sight of the Beggar Maid the king pauses ecstatically.

"In robe and gown the king stepped down
To meet and greet her on her way."

He raises the Beggar Maid's hand to his lips.

Third Lord

Making "Cophetua" rhyme with "day."

Why look at King Cophetua?

Second Lord

It is no wonder, I may say!

First Lord

She is more beautiful than day!

The king stands gazing rapturously at the Beggar Maid while Vivian, Merlin and the Knight make deep obeisance to him. The Rescued Ladies have stood as though carved in stone ever since the Knight drew his sword.

Third Lord

Pipe her ankle!

Second Lord

Pipe her eye!

First Lord

Pipe her dark hair and lovesome mien!

Cophetua

Now by my Halidom I swear
This Beggar Maid shall be my Queen!

The Beggar Maid

Will you give women the vote, king?

Cophetua

I will give *you* half of my kingdom, Beggar Maid!

The Beggar Maid

I don't want half of your kingdom, King, I want the vote.

Cophetua smiles and the lords are seized with uncontrollable laughter.

First Lord

Hysterically to Second Lord.

"What are you begging for, Beggar Maid?"

Second Lord

Holding his sides.

"I'm begging for votes, kind sir, she sayed."

Extravagant display of mirth on the part of the Lords.

Cophetua

Indulgently.

The vote is too slight a favor for you to ask of me, Beggar Maid; besides, what would you do with it if you had it, my dear? It is of no use. Why, I never vote myself!

The Beggar Maid turns her back on the King and goes to the three lords in turn with her enrollment book and pencil.

The Beggar Maid

Will you please sign this?

While the First Lord is looking at the enrollment book, turning it over, hemming and hawing, and casting about for something to say.

Second Lord

Who wears a monocle to Third Lord who wears none.

Yes, my dear fellow, in regard to what I was saying about Woman Suffrage: "The women of this smart capital are beautiful; indeed, their beauty is positively disturbing to business; their feet are beautiful; their ankles are beautiful—but here I must pause—"

He looks the Beggar Maid up and down through his eye glass while the First Lord is speaking. The Third Lord observes her through his hand screwed up in the shape of a telescope.

First Lord

Why really, you know, I always like to oblige a lady, but I am bound to consult the opinion of my constituents, and they are, I believe, opposed to this measure. If all women were as clever as you are, you see, it would be quite a different matter.

The Beggar Maid leaves him abruptly and goes to the Second Lord.

Second Lord

I am awfully sorry, you know, but I have promised my mother I wouldn't. I could never be a party to the degradation of women from the high eminence of esteem in which I hold her by permitting her to defile herself by entering the filthy profession of politics, and besides I couldn't sign my name today because I have writer's cramp from working on one of my political essays. I will send you an autograph copy of it when it is finished, since you seem to take an interest in such things.

The Beggar Maid goes to the Third Lord who is a jovial person while the First and Second Lords poke each other in the ribs.

Third Lord

Now see here, Beggar Maid, you are much too pretty to vote. There's no use talking, women don't want to vote anyhow; that is, none but the ugly ones that can't get anyone to marry them. What they all want is not the vote: it's husbands! I'll tell you what it is: If you don't just fancy the king now you can have me! As for that little scrap of paper of yours, why, I'd sign it in a minute, only, to tell you the truth, Beggar Maid, I don't know how to write.

While the lords have been refusing their signatures to the Beggar Maid, Vivian has moved close to the rock or mound on which Cophetua has seated himself and manoeuvered herself into a position of affectionate proximity where she converses with him in a fascinatingly langourous manner but is unable to withdraw his attention wholly from the Beggar Maid. The Knight seats himself beside Merlin under the oak tree and addresses him vehemently, gesticulating the while in a manner to indicate that his remarks refer to the Rescued Ladies. He starts to his feet as the Third Lord finishes his speech, and addresses the king. During what follows, the Beggar Maid, leaving the Third Lord, slips to the back of the scene behind the king's seat. At her approach the Rescued Ladies all in a row, exhibit signs of returning animation and gather about her, unperceived by the knight, eagerly signing the enrollment book and whispering together.

The Knight

Your majesty, I am under the painful necessity of calling your royal attention to the strange untoward conduct of these several ladies and damsels that I have rescued of late from the noisome dungeon of a false knight.

Cophetua

Say on!

The Knight

They have shown me no gratitude whatsoever for my desperate adventure on their behalf.

Cophetua

Well?

The Knight

Well, it's not the treatment I have a right to expect——

with tears of indignation.

after rescuing them.

Cophetua

But why do you bring them to me?

The Knight

Because, forsooth, I have nowhere else to take them since they refuse to disband and go home.

Cophetua

They refuse to go home now that they are free?

Vivian

Preposterous!

Cophetua

To the First Lady.

Madam, will you tell me why you refuse to go home?

The Knight

They are bewitched! It is mutiny!

Cophetua

Let the ladies speak for themselves and don't interrupt.

First Lady

Sire, it is true that we have mutinied. One dungeon is much like another and we have had enough of being handed from one to the next. Whether we are being rescued or being incarcerated, it is much the same from our point of view. We are in the custody of some man at all times!

Second Lady

We have had enough of watching from tower casements, while our husbands went forth to answer—or proffer—challenges to single combat, and of wondering whether they would be slain, leaving us to become the property of the victorious knights or whether their battered and crippled bodies would presently be borne in, magnificently, upon their shields, for us to nurse and tend, to the neglect of every useful occupation in life!

Third Lady

We have had enough of being parted from our little children, not knowing but that, before we should see them again they would have been sold into slavery, or eaten by ogres or thrust into some dreadful institution, and knowing ourselves powerless to protect them against any evil which might overtake them!

First Lady

Lately in our dungeons we have had our leisure; no armour to polish, no dishes to wash, no children to mind; and in our leisure we have taken council together and we have declared a strike,

The king betrays consternation and the Lords fidget.

and the terms of our strike are these: So long as present conditions exist we shall never, however great the cost to us, return to the kind of lives we have led. We shall remain banded together. Other women will join us in greater and ever greater numbers until all activity in the realm will cease, owing to the lack of our cooperation. Thus it shall be, King, until women are given equal opportunities with men for self-support and self-protection!

Merlin

Excitedly.

It will be the death of chivalry!

The Knight

Shouting.

Chivalry shall not die! Throw the hussies back into the dungeon!

Cophetua

The half of my kingdom to the one who will solve this problem for me!

Vivian

Oracularly—and, to the even sweep of her fan with which she has been fanning herself and the king during the proceeding.

Woman's place is in the home!

Cophetua

In exasperation.

Tho' I admit the truth of your observation, Vivian, its applicability seems to be somewhat at fault.

Third Lord

Pleasantly.

Your majesty, I could provide a home for three or four of them, but I should want to pick them out myself.

Second Lord

Your majesty, I propose that we raise a contribution to build a Home for Women.

First Lord

Your majesty, I propose to amend the noble lord's suggestion as follows: That a tax be levied on kitchen utensils, milk, soap, sewing materials and boric acid, for the purpose of raising funds to build a Home for Women.

Cophetua

In fury.

Let no one ever mention the word "home" in my presence again! I have been obliged to endow a "Home for Bachelor and Widowed Knights Crippled in the Tournament," "A Home for the Temporary Orphans of Knights Slain in Combat," besides ten thousand other homes and institutions, but when it comes to a Home for Women, I draw the line! Merlin, I charge you to bring all the powers of witchcraft to my aid and relieve me of this detestable situation!

Merlin

Rises, steps forward and clears his throat.

I honor and respect woman. I honor her in many ways as the superior of man. She has peopled the earth with men, the heavens with stars, and the sea——

Clears his throat.

and the sea——

Clears his throat.

with living things. She should remain in the place which is hers by nature and the consent of man.

He bows and sits down, Vivian applauds vigourously.

The Knight

Sire, I beseech you, throw them back into the dungeon! Remember Circe, what she did when she got men under her control: She turned them into swine and drove them over a precipice! Remember Judith and Holofernes? She twisted him around her little finger by the hair till he lost his head entirely!

Vivian applauds again with equal fervour.

The Beggar Maid

Who has been conferring with the Rescued Ladies.

King, I am empowered by these ladies to make you a proposition.

Cophetua

In delight.

Say on!

The Beggar Maid

They say that if you will simply give women the vote on the same terms with men they will

be content and will disperse in search of their respective families.

Cophetua

You win, Beggar Maid! I was calculating that you would all the time, you know, because I had already promised that half of my kingdom

Addressing Rescued Ladies.

to you.Now ladies, I should like to ask you first what you are going to do for me if I give you the vote. Know that it is a great and priceless boon you ask of me and you should be prepared with all proofs that you deserve it. First, I want you to promise me that you will take all the children away from that Home for Temporary Orphans so that I can shut the place down, and, second, that you will do what you can to keep your husbands and other male relatives from forever hacking each other to bits in single combats, tourneys and tournaments.

The Beggar Maid

To ladies, aloud and distinctly.

Promise nothing!

Cophetua

As tho' he had not heard.

"Some time ago a consideration of our economic conditions and tendencies led me to the conclusion that the granting of suffrage to women is inevitable. Opposition may delay, but in my judgment cannot defeat this movement. If women are to have the vote, as I believe they are, it seems to me entirely clear that in the interest of the public life of this country the contest should be ended promptly. I favor the vote for women." And now, Beggar Maid, will you be my Queen?

The Beggar Maid

Listen!

The Piper is seen standing on the hill top, blowing on his pipes and the music of the pipes is heard in the glade. The children appear over the brow of the hill on either side of the Piper and come skipping down with Goldilocks and Goldilocks in the lead. Goldilocks out distancing the rest arrive breathless at the top of the low bank.

Goldilocks (Both)

"From the worn-out web of a time outworn,
From the rule of ritual and word!
On the spread of beating wings upborne,
Shall they arise, to rebellion stirred
Who have seen a light and a spirit heard
Wind on the height a distant horn!"

The Beggar Maid goes toward Goldilocks and Goldilocks who turn and skip back up the hill with her, each holding on to her hands, while the other children, singly and in twos and threes fly to various of the Rescued Ladies who greet them very joyously and these groups all follow closely after the Beggar Maid, the music playing a triumphant air the while. Copthetua goes next with all the speed his robe and crown and majesty will permit and after him skip the three lords, arm in arm.

Vivian

Come, Merlin, hurry, or all those women will get to the polls ahead of me!

Merlin

You know, Vivian, I have always believed in Woman Suffrage.

They follow the rest, Vivian tugging at the old man's arm.

The Knight

Who has been gazing open-mouthed at this exodus.

Well, the procession seems to be getting away from me. I expect I shall have to catch up with the procession!

He departs in haste on their trail and presently they have all followed the Piper over the hill and out of sight.

CURTAIN (if any).

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With Our Allies—the Antis

For the best "pearl" sent each month we will give a year's subscription to The Woman Voter.

Prize Pearl

"Mormons want Woman Suffrage for the simple reason that the more wives they have the more votes they control.

"Polygamy is one form of Feminism."

Ideals and Features of Woman Suffrage.

WE also are seeking a remedy for the injustices and wrongs that beset the path of women. Our object is the same as theirs. We are not protesting against franchise directly. If their principles can be fairly proven to lead to woman's best emancipation, or to her most rational influence—to the city of true peace—we shall all fall in line. We are protesting against the sacrilegious license and Babylonion confusion to which suffrage seems to be leading. To us the ballotbox idea seems held so near—it hides the great scope and glorious mission of woman's world outside and beyond it. Is there any actual relation between woman's personal world and franchise? Could woman's sphere be enlarged or strengthened by the ballotbox?

* * *

This brings us to the consideration of that time-worn expression "woman's sphere"—not a happy selection, for it suggests ceaseless revolution in a determined orbit-unchanging routine. The application of the word to woman's activity —because of its erroneous interpretation and superficiality—arouses a determination not to submit—a sense of suffocation. Woman is perfectly conscious that no limit can be placed upon the radii of her mind and heart—they reach to infinite truth and infinite goodness. To bring peace and happiness to women we must have a deeper, fuller understanding of woman's nature and give her an opportunity for the expansion and growth of her faculties. Then we must recognize the element in which such growth is possible—take into it all "modern improvements," and finally win women back to live and rule in it.

* * *

Let us ask ourselves: What do the majority of women know about the nature of woman—her destiny in earth's plan—her stewardship? The conditions created by the whirl of excitement, so characteristic of the times, are not conducive to a calm and serious answer to such questions.

We anti-suffragists do not protest against suffrage or anything else that may help the condition of women and restore peace and unity to the women of our land—but we do protest against suffrage and everything that may tend to foster difficulties, protract restlessness and bring endless contention. *We* see the peculiar position in which women find themselves today, *we* feel the feminine unrest with which all womanhood seems to tremble, *we* hear the heart-rending cries from overtired, struggling, bread-winning sisters and *we* feel the overpowering circumstances which call aloud for readjustment. We recognize the crisis is at hand—we are willing, indeed eager to launch out and courageously, enthusiastically give a helping hand. With all our energy we wish to strive to bring peace to every woman's heart and save the dignity of true womanhood. But we must be sane in our endeavor and wise in our enthusiasms. What we wish is to find some pathway that will lead women to pure air in which their womanly natures can breathe freely and their womanly minds see clearly.

Mrs. Edmund Pendleton,
The Woman's Protest.

A Spanish View of Women.

"Woman is not the repository of progress. She is solely the repository of being; and, as this is the case, two things only ought to be demanded of her, health and beauty." (So much might be demanded of an Angora cat.) "Women who know how to make us (men) happy, make happiness for themselves also. What other knowledge can equal this upon the earth? Their minds are incapable of elevation to the sphere wherein move the high interest of civilization." By this it would seem that man's happiness requires none of the high interests of civilization. "Being as she is, the repository of charity and of the gentle and beneficient sentiments, she guards in her heart the secret of the destiny of humanity and transmits it by heredity and education to her sons." In other words, woman, by being healthy and good-looking may attain the secret of the destiny of humanity, and she can transmit this to her sons by an education she never had. Having "contributed nothing to progress," she still possesses the greatest knowledge, that of making men happy. This masculine chain of reasoning is given by Armando Palacio Valdes in his novel La Alegria del Capitan Ribot.

How New York Protects Women

Nelle Swartz

There are many injustices in the laws, in the Courts, in the civic and social relationships of women in New York. For this reason we have opened this new department in THE WOMAN VOTER *and we invite our readers to contribute information, citing special instances, which can be verified, of injustice to women. All communications must be signed when they are sent to the editor. We do not say that woman suffrage is the cure-all for these conditions but we do believe that through political equality we may ultimately achieve legal, social and civic equality.*

A Plea for Restaurant Workers.

I KEEP hearing about laws for women. Where are they?' This was the question asked by a woman working twelve hours a day in a restaurant. What must we tell her? What excuse have we to offer for excluding her from the protection the law gives to women working in factories and mercantile establishments? That we have safeguarded women in these fields of employment from overwork proves that we know the dangers of overwork, that long hours interpreted in terms of human life mean exhaustion, disease, immorality, pauperism and a weaker generation to follow our own.

The New York State Labor Law as it stands makes it illegal to employ women in factories and mercantile establishments more than fifty-four hours or six days in any one week, or between ten o'clock at night and six o'clock in the morning. But what of the women not safeguarded by the law? Who are they, and why should they be neglected?

Between fifteen and twenty thousand of these women are workers in restaurants—waitresses, cooks, kitchen girls, pantry hands—upon whose services all of us depend at one time or another for our comfort and pleasure.

Up at 6 a.m., away at 6:30, home at 9 o'clock at night, worn by twelve hours' toil, the laundering of a uniform for the next day—this constitutes a day's work for many women employed in restaurants and tea rooms in New York State.

From an inquiry just published by the Consumers' League of the city of New York, of 1,017 women restaurant employees, one-fourth of all the workers are under twenty-one and two-thirds are under thirty years of age. The youth of these restaurant workers gives rise to two distinct dangers, a physical and a moral one. Restaurant work necessarily involves many hours of standing and walking, lifting and carrying heavy weights. This is an unavoidable feature, but it is of the utmost importance that it be not ignored. Medical authorities have pointed out the serious results that follow the strain of continued standing and overwork of young girls.

The moral danger of the work is largely confined to waitresses. Because of their position they are peculiarly exposed to the attentions of men customers. For this very reason the Baltimore Vice Commission recommends that only older and more experienced women be employed in this capacity, while in Norway the law sets a minimum age limit for waitresses in public places.

More than half (50 per cent) of 1,017 employees who were interviewed exceed the fifty-four hour limit for women in factories and mercantile establishments, while twenty per cent work twelve hours a day. A small number, four per cent, are employed after 10 p. m., one-third do not have one day of rest in seven and the majority do not have time off for meals. "We just grab any way we can," as one girl put it, when questioned in regard to time off for meals.

The demand for cheap, unskilled labor in this occupation calls for the kind of service which girls of the European peasant class can give. The outdoor life in the fields of their native land fits them for the hard labor required in a restaurant kitchen. They do not remain fit long, however. After a year or two of this work, much of their sturdiness is lost, color and brightness are gone from their faces, and they have become pale and listless. A curiously dull, passive look is characteristic of many of them.

Living as they do among their own people these young peasants have no opportunity to absorb American standards and customs. Their ignorance makes it easy for employers to exploit them, demanding hours of labor and paying wages to which no American girl would submit. An employment agent said: "My 'phone rings day and night—all want peasant girls for kitchen helpers because they are the only kind that will stand such long hours." Attempts to organize restaurant workers in New York State have never succeeded. The secretary of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance, speaking of their unsuccessful efforts along this line in New York City in 1915, says: "This is not the first attempt to organize the girls. We have had a similar experience be-

fore—in fact, have had three experiences in that city and none of them a bit more encouraging than the present one." This is largely due to the presence of so great a number of young foreign girls in this occupation. They are not in a position to unite and work for their own protection. The only channel through which that protection can come is the law."

Nor is the restaurant worker repaid for her heavy burden by a living wage. Without tips eighty-seven per cent of women restaurant workers are being paid less than $9.00 a week, which has been fixed as the minimum amount on which a girl can live decently and healthfully in New York City. Even with tips and food added, thirty-one per cent receive less than a living wage. Of the kitchen and pantry hands who are in no position to receive tips, twenty-eight per cent receive less than $6.00 a week and three-fourths less than $7.00.

The majority of girl and women employees interviewed thoroughly dislike the tipping system—it makes their income too uncertain. "Sometimes I make $12 a week in tips; sometimes almost nothing. You can't depend on people," said a tea-room waitress. But the tipping system, aside from its unreliable source of income, presents a more subtle danger. The willingness to accept money from men in the guise of tips as well as the freedom of talking with strangers makes restaurant work of a peculiar moral danger to the young and unexperienced who fill the trade.

Restaurant workers are a tenement house population. A few, to be sure, can afford comfortable little apartments of their own, but as a whole their lot falls within the congested tenement districts of the city. Confusion, overcrowding, dirt, lack of sunlight, air and privacy and unwholesome surroundings are only too common in their homes. The janitor of an East Side tenement house said: "A little while ago down in Third Street there were twenty-three girls sleeping in two rooms. They'd put their mattresses down on the floor at night and pile them on top of each other in the daytime. Most of them were kitchen hands at ———'s," naming a well known chain of restaurants.

The low standards of the European peasant class from which restaurant workers are largely recruited drag down all standards. They live—but how! Low wages, miserably long hours, no opportunity to fit themselves for their new surroundings—this is what we offer these young peasant girls who come to America confidently expecting better things than they have left behind.

All the laws designed to protect women from industrial strain leave the restaurant employees unsheltered. They have no legal redress for overwork; the law has neglected them. In the course of this investigation a girl of twenty was found working one hundred and twenty-two hours a week—longer than the law allows mercantile employees to work in two weeks. Yet this is within the law.

Restaurant work has much in common with work in mercantile establishments. Continuous standing and walking and the nervous strain entailed in serving many customers are features of both occupations. Besides this, restaurant work necessitates the lifting and carrying of heavy weights, which may easily be disastrous not only to the worker herself, but to her children. Since the larger proportion of restaurant workers are girls and young women, they are peculiarly susceptible to overstrain because of their youth.

Do not these facts point directly to the crying need for the limitation of hours for women employed in restaurants?

A bill will be introduced in the 1917 Legislature to include this group of workers under the mercantile law, i. e.:

(1) That the working day shall not exceed nine (9) and the working week fifty-four (54) hours.

(2) That women shall not be employed between the hours of 10 p. m. and 7 a. m.

(3) That there shall be one day of rest in seven, and

(4) That there shall be a regular time off each day for meals.

Will you help create public opinion needed and make possible the safeguarding of these 20,000 women from the long day, night work and seven-day week?

Inez Milholland Boissevain.

With the death of Mrs. Boissevain there passes from the suffrage ranks an enthusiastic worker and leader. Endowed with broad understanding, highly educated and gifted with rare magnetism, Mrs. Boissevain was a potent force in every movement for the advancement of humanity. In her college days she worked among poor children and served as a probation officer. An ardent believer in democracy she could not do other than espouse the cause of suffrage. Her enthusiasm in her belief, her spending of self made her a true leader in the fight for enfranchisement. The short life is ended but the memory of patriotic endeavor remains as an inspiration.

New York Tribune. *Drawn by W. E. Hill.*

New York School Teacher—Miss Gwendolyn, locate the United States of America.
Gwendolyn (who belongs to an "old guard family")—The United States is a large country somewhere west of the Mississippi River.

After Election is Over

Two Souls, Etc.

"The returns indicate that the women's vote in the Western States was practically identical with that of the men of their families. This is most impressively shown in Illinois where the votes of men and women are counted separately. Had women not voted the result of the election would have been the same—at less expense to the people and with less bother to the women. . . One peculiarity. has been noticed in Illinois which may also obtain elsewhere. In many Republican districts the women were more Republican than the men. In many Democratic Districts the women were more Democratic than the men."

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge,
The Times, Nov. 10th.

"The effect of the votes of the women in the States where the privilege of voting has been accorded to them will be closely studied. The early returns except those from Illinois, throw very little light on the drift of the feminine vote, but in Illinois the women, with a few exceptions, must have voted as the men in their families voted. . . There is in the Chicago returns no sort of proof of the assertion that the women supported Mr. Hughes because he favored a suffrage amendment to the Constitution. There is, on the other hand, no proof that the women were inclined to vote for President Wilson because they believed that a Republican victory might precipitate war with Mexico. The women, it seems, voted as Democrats and Republicans according to the traditions of their domestic environment or the influences to which they were directly subjected. In other words they voted just like men, increasing the number of ballots cast and the election expenses without benefiting their sex or the State in any way."

Editorial, *The Times,* Nov. 10th.

News vs. Editorial.

"In three states the ballots of women voters played a most important part in helping settle the destinies of the two candidates. So important was the feminine vote in Kansas, in fact, that Wilson is declared to owe his victory in that State to the woman suffragists."

The Times, News Column, Nov. 9th.

"The overturn in Kansas was not due to the women voters. It remains to be proved that their votes appreciably affected the general results."

The Times, Editorial Column, Nov. 10th.

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Edited by
Adaline W. Sterling

CITY COMMITTEE MEETING

Monday December 4th, at 10 A. M.
Every District Must Be Represented
Borough Officers Must Be Present

THE Call to the City Committee Meeting is one which every borough officer, every district leader and every chairman of standing committee must heed. It will be the occasion of receiving information of campaign plans and of devising ways and means to carry out the directions of those in authority. No leader can do her duty in her district if she fails in attendance at these meetings; no borough officer is fully informed of the policy of the party if she neglects the opportunity afforded by these meetings. They are the occasion not only of information and of suggestion, but of report. They are as necessary as the report of separate generals in warfare to the head in command. There are questions of vital importance to be discussed on the 4th. and there must be a full and prompt attendance.

THOUGH on the surface things have been quiet this month, there has been a steady undercurrent of activity prior to the State Convention. Preparations are under way for the mobilization of the suffrage division in New York City. As soon as the route is given the army will move, thousands of souls with the single thought, "Victory in 1917."

The reception given to the election district captains was a great success and brought these workers into touch with the city chairman and other officers of the organization. Quite a "boom in captains" has resulted from the inspiration acquired at the meeting.

THERE was just a little family party at Headquarters on November 17th, an informal affair and only indirectly connected with suffrage. A kitchen shower was given Miss Marjorie Veronica Cullen, Mrs. Russell's faithful assistant, who on November 29th became Mrs. Joseph Edward Humphreys, Jr. The gifts came from "the family," as Mrs. Humphreys has always called the officers and those directly associated with Headquarters. Our friend is coming back to us in a short time to give needed help as a volunteer worker.

(Continued on page 26.)

National American Woman Suffrage Association
Headquarters—171 Madison Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

New York State Woman Suffrage Party
Headquarters—303 Fifth Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse

Woman Suffrage Party of New York City
Headquarters—48 East 34th Street

Chairman—
Miss Mary G. Hay, 2 West 86th Street
Honorary Chairman—
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Vice-Chairmen—
Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren,
68 Buckingham Road, Brooklyn
Mrs. F. Robertson Jones,
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Secretary—
Mrs. Harriet Wells, 46 West 9th Street
Corresponding Secretary—
Miss Adaline W. Sterling,
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Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich,
317 West 74th Street

MANHATTAN BOROUGH—
Chairman—Miss Annie Doughty,
435 West 119th Street

BROOKLYN BOROUGH—
Headquarters—342 Livingston Street.
Chairman—Mrs. H. Edward Dreier,
35 Remsen Street

BRONX BOROUGH—
Headquarters—Third Ave., Corner 149th St.
Chairman—Mrs. Daniel Appleton Palmer,
631 East 168th Street

QUEENS BOROUGH—
Chairman—Mrs. David R. Rodger,
Richmond Hill, L. I.

RICHMOND BOROUGH—
Chairman—Mrs. William G. Willcox,
115 Davis Avenue, West New Brighton

The Woman Suffrage Party is organized to win the vote for women. It follows the regular plan of the political parties, having a leader in each Assembly District and a captain in each Election District. Its purpose is to enroll the name and enlist the support of every man and woman who believes in equal suffrage.

If you believe in the principle of democracy, come into our ranks; every one is welcome. Send your name and address to 48 East 34th Street. Remember that every name counts. The success of woman suffrage depends upon the strength of our organization and the loyalty of our workers. We are organized to win. Join the Party to-day.

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On November 2d, "Wilson Night," five automobiles flying suffrage colors and pennants were stationed at favorable locations near Madison Square Garden. Speakers took advantage of the crowds and held overflow meetings, while workers distributed special literature. The suffrage speakers were most cordially received, and in one instance where two suffragists had alternated in short speeches for over an hour, the crowd urged them to talk just a little more and not to go away just yet. But they were due in the vicinity of Cooper Union, where there were more crowds ready to hear what the women had to say. The experience was repeated on November 4th, "Hughes Night," though the marchers and the brass bands and occasional rain prevented the gathering of listeners in as large numbers.

BRONX Borough is rejoicing that its first big meeting held on the date of this issue of the VOTER promises to be a political and financial success. Tickets have sold well, politicians have promised to attend, and the speakers fresh from the Albany convention will bring with them the inspiration of that gathering.

MANHATTAN Borough is meeting with great success in the Grand Street Headquarters, which have been moved two doors away from the original locality. The steady attendance at afternoon and evening meetings shows that Grand street and vicinity are ready for suffrage propaganda. The number of enrollments taken adds to the many thousands which are being filed at Borough Headquarters.

BROOKLYN Borough is having frequent meetings at its Headquarters and is systematizing the work of district officers. Future plans include a large mass meeting at the Academy of Music, and street meetings and factory meetings when the weather permits.

QUEENS Borough is working steadily through its clubs, which seems the best way at present in scattered territory. The borough chairman has plans for new work and workers in the Ridgwood district, where the use of the Jefferson Club house has been placed at her disposal.

RICHMOND Borough rejoices in having Mrs. Willcox once more in visible activity, and rejoices still more that the ill member of her family is convalescent. Mrs. Willcox was a faithful nurse and at the same time managed to direct the work of the borough.

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167. English Slip-on Tan Cape Gloves. **2.50**

169. Evening Dress Set, links, studs and vest buttons, of mother of pearl and Toutin enamel. Set **10.00**

171. Belt of black bordered cowhide, detachable sterling silver buckle; sizes 30 to 44. **3.00**

173. Silk Dressing Gown of fine imported French matelasse silk. **35.00**

175. Imported English Knitted Muffler, in black and white, or white and black, or colors. **12.00**

177. Imported French Linen Handkerchiefs, large assortment of designs and colors. Each **1.25**